

# SCOTLAND'S STORY



44

**Home Rule makes  
its political bow  
with a whisper**

**The forgotten  
'uncrowned king'**

**Diplomacy by  
gunboat in the  
Crofters' War**

**Press tigers  
begin to roar**

**Rennie Mackintosh  
at the forefront of  
a new Celtic dawn**



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ATLANTIC  
OCEAN



**1877**

R B Cunningham Graham returns home after adventures in South America.



Orkney

**1880**

Evictions and rack renting lead to widespread unrest in the crofting communities.



NORTH  
SEA



**1882**

John Stuart Blackie founds chair of Celtic at Edinburgh University.

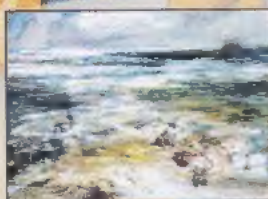
**1886**

Gladstone's vision of Home Rule begins to take centre-stage role in Scottish politics.



**1888**

The 'Highland Land War' continues as troops are again deployed.



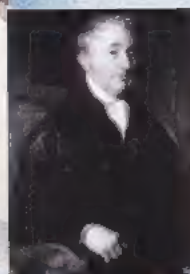
**1895**

McTaggart's 'Sailing of the Emigrant Ship' captures the spirit of the times.



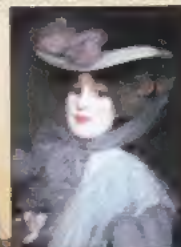
**1890**

Charles Rennie Mackintosh opens a decade of achievement in Glasgow.



**1900**

Blackwood's Magazine still popular over 80 years after its inception.



**1904**

Outstanding artist and 'Glasgow Girl', Bessie MacNicol, dies.

PART  
ENGLAND

**In Part 45:  
Industry and Empire**

North  
Channel

PART OF  
IRELAND





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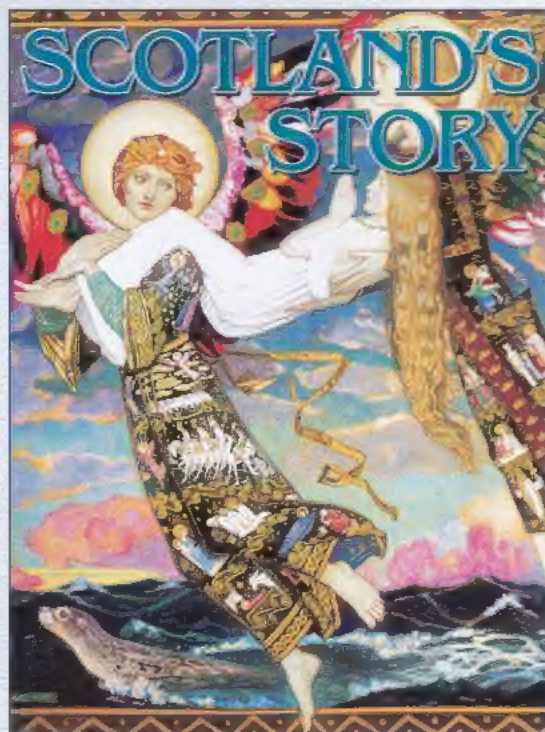
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**COVER:** Artist John Duncan was born in Dundee and had a particular interest in Scotland's Celtic revival. His 'St Bride' (1913) conveys an image of the saint being miraculously carried across the sea to Bethlehem by two angels.

## First call for devolution

A century ago, Britain was at the height of its powers. A number of Scots became very wealthy thanks to the Empire, while others embraced its 'moral mission'. For many, there seemed little reason to rock the boat. Britannia did indeed 'Rule'.

Yet from within the very cockpit of Empire there were dissonant voices calling out for change. Among the loudest were those demanding that a measure of self-government be returned to Scotland.

The issue of Scottish Home Rule was to become a central feature of national politics in the decades immediately prior to the First World War.

Interest in Home Rule first emerged in the 1880s, partly because of the stimulation provided by events in Ireland, but also due to a desire to bring about administrative reforms that would make the Union with England work more effectively in Scotland's favour.

Scottish 'Unionist-nationalism' was the driving force behind the office of Secretary of State for Scotland being revived in 1885, the Scottish Office being established in London and the

setting up of a Scottish Standing Committee in 1894 to consider all Scottish legislation.

Home Rule motions submitted at Westminster in 1894 and 1895 gained majorities but failed due to lack of parliamentary time.

After 1910, many reckoned Home Rule to be essential to the implementation of effective social reform in Scotland. It almost came in May, 1914, when a Home Rule Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons, only to be killed-off when war broke out.

War, as it had done in the past and would again in the future, galvanised loyalty to the British state at a time of internal crisis.

Home Rule was not the only issue that brought national sentiment in Scotland to the fore at this time.

An intellectual cross-fertilisation between Scotland and Ireland among leading scholars, artists, activists and politicians contributed to a powerful spirit of 'Celtic revivalism'.

In the political arena, Home Rule and Celtic revivalism were issues closely intertwined with the Highland 'land war' that blew up in the early 1880s.



# Home Rule begins



■ The magnificent Bute Hall, where Glasgow University students graduate, was built out of the munificence of the Third Marquis.



# to raise its head

It began with little more than a whisper on the coat-tails of the Irish movement, yet this was the start of a major political cause for control in Scotland

**T**he issue of Scottish Home Rule first became prominent in the mid-1880s. It made its appearance on the arm of demands for Irish Home Rule, for which there were four unsuccessful attempts to legislate prior to partition in 1922.

There was a greater consensus over the constitutional position of Scotland within the United Kingdom compared to that of Ireland. During the middle of the 19th century there had been organisations such as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights in the 1850s, which argued that Scotland should have its own cabinet minister, greater time should be devoted to Scottish issues at Westminster and slights to Scotland, such as the use of 'England' to mean 'Britain', should be avoided.

The Scottish Rights Association, however, did not advocate the breaking up of the Union, merely that the Union should be made to work better for Scotland. The process of administrative devolution was begun in 1885 when, after a campaign led by *The Scotsman* and the Convention of Royal Burghs, and supported by the Liberal Peer Lord Rosebery, and the Conservative Marquis of Lothian, the Scottish Office was established.

It was Irish Home Rule which



■ John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, Third Marquis of Bute, wanted to reconvene the Scottish Parliament.

changed the situation dramatically.

Gladstone had only been able to govern in 1886 with the help of the Irish Parliamentary Party, led by Charles Stewart Parnell, and his scheme for a devolved parliament in Dublin raised many of the issues which became familiar in subsequent debates on devolution in the 20th century. In 1886, for example, he proposed cutting out Irish representation from the House of Commons, raising objections that this would lead to the break up of the United Kingdom.

In 1893 Gladstone proposed to keep a reduced number of Irish members at Westminster, leading to

objections that they would be able to vote on English questions while English MPs would not be able to deliberate on Irish questions – a forerunner of Tam Dayell's 'West Lothian Question'.

The Gladstonian schemes of Home Rule have provided the model for all later plans for devolution in the United Kingdom. These have involved the devolution of 'domestic' issues, and the retention of powers relating to foreign, imperial and defence-related issues.

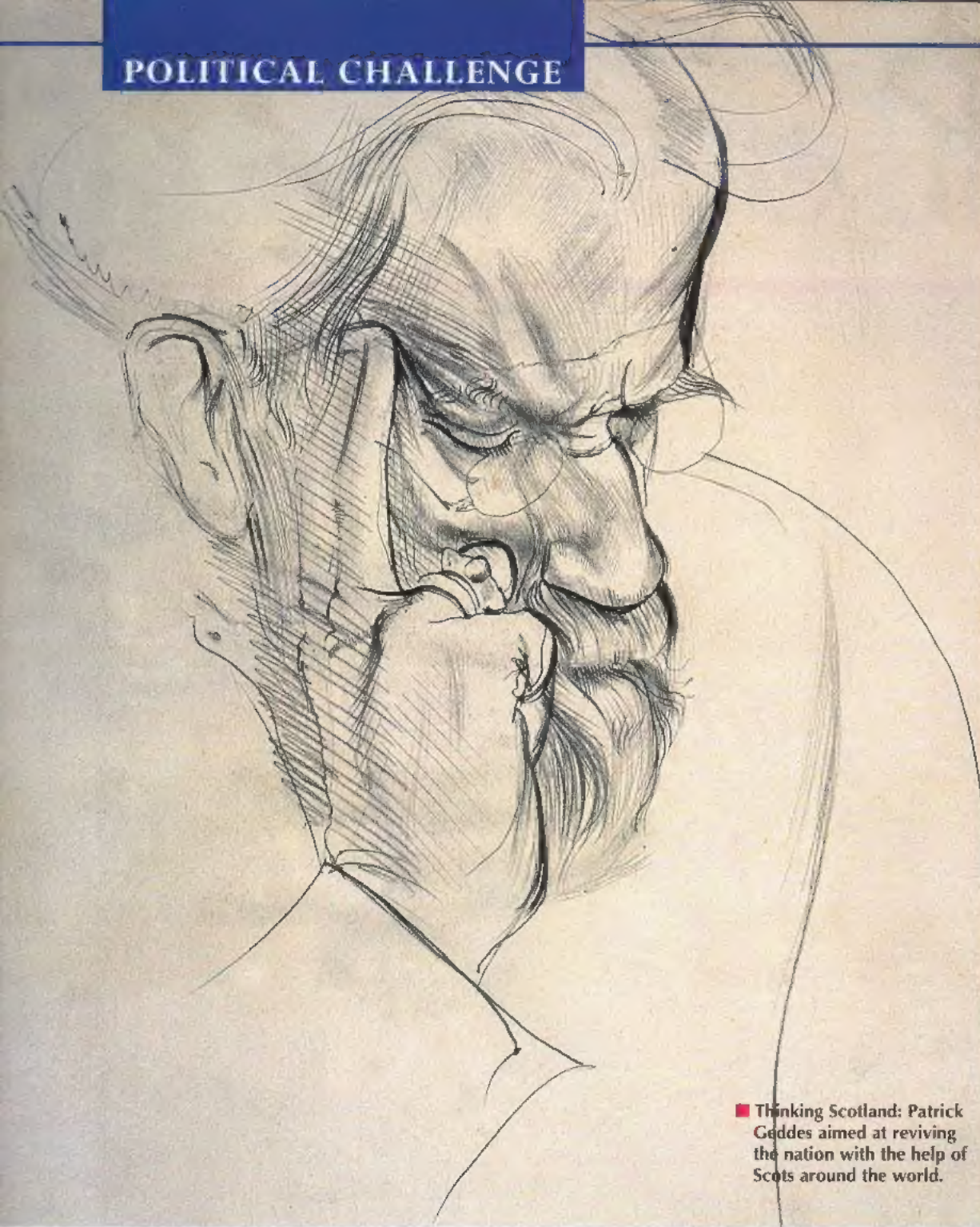
There has traditionally been considerable argument over the question of finance – whether Westminster should grant a fixed

sum of money to devolved parliaments, a proportion of taxation, or allow the devolved parliament to have its own tax raising powers.

All these issues were deliberated on in the course of the debates over Irish Home Rule. Many Unionists argued that it was unfair that Ireland should be treated separately and argued for a form of federalism – or 'Home Rule All Round', as it was called in the late 19th century. It was this element of the debate which brought Scotland into the equation.

In the aftermath of the defeat of the first Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886 and the election of a ▶





■ **Thinking Scotland:** Patrick Geddes aimed at reviving the nation with the help of Scots around the world.

is interesting to note that in the 1880s Scottish Home Rulers felt that Ireland was undertaxed, but Irish nationalists also argued that Ireland contributed more in taxation than she received in expenditure.

A further argument used by Scottish Home Rulers was the idea that "it has become impossible for the Imperial Parliament and administrations to overtake the immense amount of work now imposed upon them".

This was another argument used by Irish nationalists, although many people blamed the congestion of the House of Commons on excessive Irish business, not least Irish Home Rule which took up an immense amount of time in the 1886 parliament.

One of the most prominent parliamentary advocates of Home Rule was the radical MP for Caithness, Dr Gavin B Clark, who introduced the idea to the House of Commons on a number of occasions in the 1890s. He was one of the few Scottish MPs in this period who was not an enthusiastic advocate of the Imperial mission. He lost his seat in 1900 due to his opposition to the Boer War. Despite his best efforts Scottish Home Rule was never a serious legislative proposition.

Divisions in the Liberal Party in the late 1890s meant that Scottish Home Rule became an even more marginal issue in these years and in the early part of the new century. The issue was kept alive in the Liberal party by a group called the Young Scots Society, although the hyperactivity of a small number of activists may have created a false impression. A Scottish Home Rule Bill of 1908 was the first time the issue had been raised in the Commons for 10 years.

From 1906 to 1910 the Liberals governed with a very large majority, the Irish Party was sidelined and Home Rule was a less important question. After 1910 the Liberal position had been eroded and they could only govern with the help of the Irish: the price was another attempt at Irish Home Rule.

In this, the third such attempt, there was a more concerted effort by advocates of federalism to advance the cause of 'Home Rule All Round'. In fact, the government had given serious consideration to this question in 1910; the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill, reported to the cabinet that the main problem in such a scheme was how to accommodate England:

"It seems to me absolutely

## 'Scotland contributes a disproportionately-large share of revenue to the Imperial Exchequer'

► Conservative government, the Scottish Home Rule Association was established in Edinburgh. It was a pressure group which contained a highly-diverse range of people among its leading members.

Some of its leaders were radicals who had a long record of commitment to the idea of home rule – Gavin Clark, the MP for Caithness, for example. Others were Liberal Unionists who dressed up their opposition to Irish Home Rule in the clothes of 'Home Rule All Round'; others still were political

eccentrics, such as the Catholic aristocrat, the Marquis of Bute, who assisted the publication of the journal, the *Scottish Review*, or the Gaelic enthusiast John Stuart Blackie.

The SHRA devoted the bulk of its resources to the publication of pamphlets through which some of the arguments used to advance the cause of Scottish Home Rule can be seen.

One prominent argument which the SHRA used was that Scotland was not getting a good deal out of

the financial arrangements of the Union as they stood in the late 19th century: "Scotland contributes a disproportionately-large share of revenue to the Imperial Exchequer, but does not receive equally with England a fair share of the expenditure of that revenue... we find that while the population of Scotland is 10.6 per cent that of the United Kingdom, the average taxation which it bears is 11.9 per cent."

This type of argument, of course, retains a place in the more sterile corners of the devolution debate. It



## TIMELINE

**1880**

Home Rule champion, the fifth Earl of Rosebery, becomes Rector of Edinburgh University.

**1881**

Irish Land Act has a powerful impact on Scottish politics.

**1882**

The 'Battle of the Braes' takes place on Lord MacDonald's Skye estate.

**1883**

Crofters become organised as a Royal Commission is appointed to consider their grievances.

**1886**

The Crofters Act gives security of tenure and other basic rights to crofters.

**1887**

R B Cunninghame Graham is arrested for protesting against imprisonment of Irish rebels.

**1890**

The Dundee-based People's Journal has the biggest certified circulation in Scotland.

**1895**

Scottish nationalist and radical Edinburgh University Professor John Stuart Blackie dies.

**1905**

The Scotsman newspaper moves takes up residence at Edinburgh's North Bridge.

**1910**

A pioneer of modern art, the historically informed landscape artist William McTaggart, dies.

**1916**

Edinburgh's James Connolly is executed for leading the Easter Rising in Ireland.

**1917**

Glasgow's Charles Rennie Mackintosh completes his last architectural project.

■ William Gladstone: all schemes for Home Rule in Britain have been modelled on his Devolution plans.

impossible that an English Parliament, and still more an English Executive, could exist side by side with an Imperial Parliament and an Imperial Executive. Imperial affairs could not in practice be separated from English Party politics, which consist principally of domestic questions. The external sphere touches the internal at almost every point. The fortunes of the country abroad and at home are interdependent and indissoluble", stated Churchill.

Indeed, during the debate on Irish Home Rule in the House of Commons in April, 1912, the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, — a carpet-bagging MP for a seat in Fife — seemed to give the impression that

he approved the notion of Home Rule All Round.

"I myself, while recognising to the full the priority and paramount urgency of the Irish claim, have always represented the case for Irish Home Rule as the first step, and only the first step, in a larger and more comprehensive policy."

He went on to discuss the imperative need, in the interests of the United Kingdom and of the Empire as a whole, for the emancipation from local cares and local burdens of the Imperial Parliament. Nevertheless, despite this flurry of activity between 1910 and 1914, the First World War pushed the issue of Scottish Home Rule to the margins. Although the

war was the occasion of great outpourings of British patriotism and Imperial enthusiasm, it also raised the question of the rights of small nations, a cause which was furthered by Woodrow Wilson's 14 points and the Treaty of Versailles.

Thus, when demands for Scottish Home Rule were voiced in the 1920s the atmosphere was different, for this reason, and because the Irish question appeared to have been 'settled' by the partition of the island in 1922.

The SHRA was formed once again in the 1920s and 1934 saw the formation of the Scottish National Party, the first political party dedicated to the cause of Scottish Home Rule. ●



# Who will be ceilidh



■ Around the fireside: inside the blackhouse home of a South Uist family. It was in such surroundings relatives and friends gathered for a ceilidh.

**Originally a ceilidh was a family visit or tryst among friends. But it grew into a night of stories, song, dance and pleasure – and rich tradition**

**C**eilidh is a word which has entered the vocabulary of most Scots in recent years for it is seen on posters and in event listings virtually every day. Invariably it now refers to a dance event involving crowds of energetic participants stamping their way through the Canadian Barn Dance and the Eightsome Reel with varying degrees of skill and success.

To Gaelic speakers, however, the word evokes a rather more intimate scene, usually unrelated to dance, for

'to ceilidh' was quite simply to visit with friends, relatives or neighbours.

News, chat and gossip were the order of the day often leading to the trading of tales, stories and songs, the contents of which might be discussed and debated well into the night while domestic chores such as carding, spinning or candle-making went on apace.

Some homes in a community earned a reputation for being a particularly welcoming 'ceilidh house' to which young and old would flock to hear the

best singers and story tellers, especially if a visitor was around – an itinerant tailor or shoemaker, for instance – for new stories and fresh gossip were eagerly sought after.

Hector Urquhart, a gamekeeper from Ross-shire writing in 1860, gives an excellent account of the ceilidh houses he used to visit as a boy. The stories told by an old shoemaker who visited the village from time to time in search of work made a great impression on young Hector, for they told of ghosts, fairies and other beings



# King of the Riddles?



■ Time for a blether, a dram and maybe a story or a song at the blacksmith's cottage at Dalmally, Argyllshire.

of various guises which frightened him and his friends so much that they were scared to pass the church yard on their way home.

The house in which the old man was staying the night would be swamped with locals eager to hear his tales.

The 'goodman' of the house usually opened with one of his favourite stories, and then it was 'tales to daylight by the guest'.

This tradition, it would seem, was not always taken literally. Others present would pitch in with a story or a riddle posed to the company, hoping it would remain unsolved by morning, earning him the title 'King of the Riddles'.

Although the term 'ceilidh' was confined to Gaelic-speaking areas, similar gatherings were common throughout Scotland in a wide array of social contexts.

Shetland talk was of going 'in aboot da nyht' to share stories and fiddle tunes, a practice which survived in traditional form well into living memory, while throughout the mainland farm kitchens and bothies served a similar function as incubators of such expressive folk arts.

The one social group for whom these kinds of gatherings were virtually a daily occurrence were the travellers or cairds, for their evenings were spent around the camp fire sharing tales and songs.

The tales were not considered to be for entertainment only, for the travelling folk saw them as fulfilling a vital function in the moral education

of their children and would explain the messages and lessons which they contained on each telling.

It is of no great surprise then, that when the School of Scottish Studies was founded at Edinburgh University in 1951 to record and research the nation's cultural inheritance, some of the most impressive bearers of the oral tradition had spent most of their time on the road.

In all of these social settings, the tales and songs took a great variety of forms. In the Gaelic-speaking areas, the great hero tales which tell of the super-human exploits of Fionn mac

Cumhaill and his followers, An Fheinn or the Fenians, were considered to be the aristocrats of the tale repertoire.

The best tellers could keep these going for hours or even days, the company re-convening on several occasions to hear them in full.

These tales were unusual in that they seem to have entered the oral tradition from a literary source compiled for recitation in the great halls of the Medieval Irish and Scottish aristocratic chiefs.

Another form of story which was popular in both Gaelic and Scots was the international wonder tale,

commonly called the fairy tale. Many of these stories of magic are known in localised versions throughout Europe and Asia, a fact which has provided much fuel for scholars to debate the history of population movements and to muse on the logistics of cultural diffusion.

Long before the Grimm brothers collected and published the German versions in the early 19th century, orally-transmitted variants of the likes of Cinderella and Snow White were stretching the collective imaginations of children and adults from the ceilidh houses of Barra to the camp fires of Perthshire.

Songs, too, formed a major part of the oral tradition which was fostered by the ceilidh setting. As with the stories, these could take a huge variety of forms.

In the 'muckle sangs' – the classic Scots ballads which survive still on the lips of the travellers – the natural and the 'other worldly' come together in rich musical narratives, while their younger cousins, the bothy ballads, deal with more down-to-earth topics such as work, drink and sex.

In the Gaelic tradition, songs were also commonly sung at ceilidhs as well as at more formal events such as weddings, while highly-rhythmical communal work songs were used to accompany tasks such as reaping, rowing and waulking tweed.

In the ceilidh houses, bardic songs were very popular as a close parallel to the Fenian tales. These were not folk songs composed orally by an illiterate peasantry, for most of them began life as the work of trained poets or bards composing in a highly-literary style and who survived on the patronage of clan chiefs.

Like the Medieval hero tales, they gradually became subsumed into the oral tradition to merge with the more vernacular song poetry of the harpers and untrained bards who proliferated in the Gaidhealteachd.

The material which was performed week in and week out in the ceilidh house and all its regional variations constitutes a wonderfully rich cultural heritage upon which the modern folk music and storytelling revivals have been built.

As an institution, then, the ceilidh should be recognised and celebrated for the vital role it has played in the creation, development and maintenance of one of the most extensive and vibrant oral traditions in Europe. ●



■ Ceilidh television-style with Andy Stewart and Jimmy Shand.



# Gunboat diplomacy as crofters go to 'war'

**Skye's Battle of the Braes triggers bitter action to project Highland land issues onto a national platform**

**T**he Crofters' Wars of the 1880s were part of widespread protests on the land question throughout the British Isles and Ireland. Farm labourers in England continued a rich tradition of protest in the 'Revolt of the Field'; Irish small tenants, the most rebellious in Europe, reached new heights of organised agitation in the Land War of 1879 to 1882 and the later Plan of Campaign; and the more quiescent dissenting small farmers of Wales were up in arms over the injustice of having to pay tithes to the Church of England.

This concentrated outburst of protest, which could also be seen in Europe and North America, was due, partly to global changes in the market for agricultural produce which left small farmers at a severe disadvantage. The 'Agricultural Depression' which had a particular effect in the wheat-growing areas of England, was noticeable from the mid-1870s onwards.

In Ireland a return to near-famine conditions in the later years of that decade stimulated the formation of the Irish National Land League in County Mayo in 1879. In the Highlands, the period since the famine of the 1840s and 1850s had been one of relative prosperity, but coercion of vulnerable tenants by landlords, whose legal powers were practically untrammelled, continued albeit at a lower level of intensity than during the famine clearances.

These protests impinged on the



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WITH EXTRA SUPPLEMENT. SIXPENCE.



■ **Reading the Riot Act: troops were needed to quell the disturbances at Aignish Farm near Stornoway.**

consciousness of governments. Royal Commissions on the Agricultural Depression, the Irish Land Question, the Grievances of the Crofters and the Land Question in Wales and Monmouthshire spent years taking minutes but bequeathed a rich legacy of evidence for the historian.

The years since the famine in the Highlands had seen an increase in activity and confidence, admittedly at a somewhat rarefied level, on

questions relating to Gaelic culture and Highland life. Outbreaks of protest also punctuated the 1870s, with the most notable events taking place at Bernera, in the West of Lewis, and at Leckmel in Wester Ross.

The latter was particularly important as an Aberdonian paper manufacturer sought to evict crofters from his estate, but was met with protest led by a politically-

aware Free Church minister and an evolving coalition of activists.

A number of prominent figures vocalised the protests of the Crofters. Notable among them was a well-to-do Inverness Tory, Charles Fraser Mackintosh, who had re-invented himself as an Independent Liberal and 'member for the Highlands' since being elected for the Inverness Burghs in 1874.

A more exotic figure was John





■ Moment of drama with the police on hand as a family is evicted in Argyll c.1880.

Murdoch, a former exciseman who had seen service in Ireland, and who sunk his pension into a newspaper enterprise in Inverness in 1873

The result, *The Highlander*, published weekly until 1881, was a remarkable combination of campaigning journalism on the Highland land question, and Scottish and Irish Home Rule – alongside the eccentric enthusiasms of the proprietor, which included vegetarianism and the virtues of frequent bathing

Murdoch's paper, which encountered continual financial vicissitudes, controversially alleviated by Irish-American money, was a dissonant voice in the media of the day. Murdoch's contact with the crofters brought home to him the extent of their demoralisation and provided the materials for his incessant message of assertiveness

The sparring and debating of the 1870s presaged conflict of a more tangible nature in the early years of the following decade. The focus for this protest was the Island of Skye

Protest flared initially on the rack-rented Kilmuir estate of Colonel William Fraser in the north end of the island. But it was the justly famous Battle of the Braes in April 1882, on the estate of Lord MacDonald, that provided the real

spark which pushed the grievances of the crofters onto the wider agenda

A dispute over grazing rights on Ben Lee resulted in land being occupied illegally, writs being served, sheriff officers being prevented from carrying out their duty and was concluded only by the

augmentation of the Inverness County Police and a full-scale pitched battle with crofters as arrests were effected

The reporting of these events in metropolitan newspapers added to the volume of the protests. At Glendale in the West of the island a

gunboat had to be dispatched to arrest a group of protesting crofters among them John MacPherson who earned the sobriquet the 'Glendale Martyr'

Meanwhile, in parliament, the issue was being pressed by Fraser Mackintosh, along with the Caithness-born member for the Irish County of Carlow, Donald Horne MacFarlane, and a Glasgow member and proprietor of the Liberal North British Daily Mail, Dr Charles Cameron

The Liberal government had already granted concessions to Irish small tenants in 1881 and it was argued that a Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate the case of the Scottish crofters.

In early 1883 the Crofters, under the influence of John Murdoch and his rival, Inverness media magnate, Alexander MacKenzie, began to adopt formal organisation

Inverness, Sutherland, Edinburgh and London saw the formation of Highland Land Law Reform Associations, with branches in the crofting communities

In 1883 a Royal Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Napier. Although the Commission counted Fraser Mackintosh and the Professor of Celtic at the University of



■ Tears in North Uist as a Lochmaddy family leave their home.





■ William McTaggart in his painting of the *The Sailing of the Emigrant Ship* in 1895 saw a deliberate attempt to destroy Gaelic culture.

► Edinburgh, Donald Mackinnon, among its members, it was thought to be unduly dominated by landowners

The Conservative MP for Inverness shire, Donald Cameron of Lochiel and Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, his defeated Liberal opponent in 1880, were certainly representative of the landowning interest. They were joined by the indolent Skye born Sheriff of Kirkcudbright, Alexander Nicolson, an avid Gaelic scholar and mountaineer.

The impact of the evidence given

## The incident at Chicken Rock and military peacekeepers on Skye demanded a legislative solution

by the hundreds of crofters who appeared before the Commission, running the very real risk of alienating their landlords, cannot be underestimated.

The progress of the Commission round the Highlands, including the wreck of their ship, *The Lively*, on

Chicken rock off Stornoway was subject to full media coverage. Murdoch's encouraging sermons to the crofting community had been highly effective.

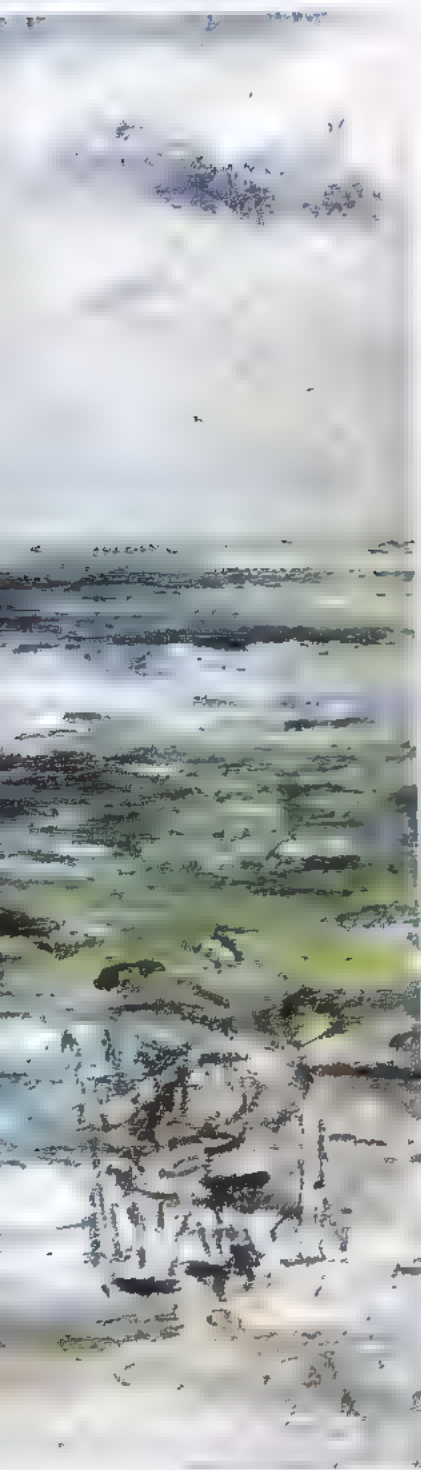
After the cathartic effect of the hearings of the Commission, the recommendations of the

Commissioners on the land question were a big disappointment.

In the absence of agreement among his colleagues, Napier drew up a highly idealised scheme which the government recognised as impractical and the Crofters' movement condemned as ineffectual.

A new wave of protest swept the Scottish Highlands. A large military force – led by the diminutive, but megalomaniac Sheriff of Inverness, William Ivory – wintered on Skye in 1884/85. Gladstone's Liberal government realised the importance





■ A croft in North Uist: the insecurity of tenants with few rights was a prime reason for unrest.



of a legislative solution along the lines of the Irish Land Act of 1881, especially after being disappointed by concessions offered by a meeting of landlords in Inverness in early 1885.

The government did not have time to complete the passage of such legislation before losing office in June, 1885.

By the time the Liberals returned to power and the task of Highland land legislation in early 1886, the political world had been dramatically altered. The extension of the franchise in 1885 had given crofters

the vote and they used them to sweep out the landlords who mostly represented highland constituencies and replaced them with Crofter MPs.

These new members included some familiar faces such as Fraser Mackintosh, who was elected in Inverness shire, and MacFarlane in Argyll.

Some new faces included Dr Gavin B. Clark, the most radical of the group, in Caithness; and another London medical man, Dr Roderick MacDonald in Ross-shire (MacDonald was the least active of the group, achieving greater fame as the unfortunate occupant of the coroner's bench in the east end of London during Jack the Ripper's reign of terror).

The only one of the Crofter MPs to have experienced life on a croft was Angus Sutherland, elected for his

native county of Sutherland in 1886.

These men had little impact on the government as the Crofters Bill was driven through a parliament dominated by the demanding issue of Irish Home Rule. The bill reached the statute book in June 1886 and granted security of tenure to the crofters, as well as the right to appeal to a Crofters Commission to have fair rents set and other disputes settled.

The Act did not, however, include any facilities which would provide the crofters with what they needed most – more land. In this it was a great disappointment and was condemned by the Crofters' movement.

Due to this inadequacy, agitation continued after 1886, most notably on the islands of Tiree and Lewis, and in North West Sutherland, necessitating the commitment of

further military expeditions to the Highlands.

The years down to the mid 1920s were punctuated by outbreaks of agitation and further attempts to legislate on the Highland land question in 1897, 1911 and 1919. The Land Settlement Act of 1919 was the only successful enactment.

It provided for the effective nationalisation of land. However, it could not meet the expectations of war veterans who felt that they had been promised land in return for military service, and land raids were frequent in the 1920s.

Nevertheless, this legislation had, and continues to have, a profound effect, for better or worse, on the Highlands.

The Crofters' Act, despite its limitations, still engenders intense loyalty in the crofting community. ●





■ The early years: the young Cunninghamham Graham with his wife Gabriella, travelling partner and staunch supporter of his causes.

# The 'Master of Life' is now forgotten

**He was in at the start of the Labour Party and a president of the National Party. In his lifetime Cunninghamham Graham was writer, legend, 'Uncrowned King' and Don Quixote rolled into one. To miners, factory workers and the poor he was a bonnie fechter...**

**M**any Scots may have wandered past the stier time weathered monument to Cunninghamham Graham (1852-1928) at Castlehill, Dumbarton, with its inscription celebrating the 'master of life, a king among men' without as much as a passing thought as to why such a character might have earned such an epigraph.

For it is fact that after his death Robert Bontine Cunninghamham Graham has largely been forgotten. He was an uncompromising defender of factory workers, miners, of the poor and of the under privileged. He was a crucial figure in the emergence of the British Labour Party and was also President of the National Party of Scotland and of its successor, the Scottish National Party.

Yet despite his many achievements and commitment to improving life for so many Scottish people, the public memory of his works is buried beneath 'the fug o' fame/An history's hazelraw' as his old friend

Hugh MacDiarmid might have put it.

If in death almost forgotten, in life the opposite was true. Often described by those who knew him as 'a living legend', 'a colourful swaggering protean adventurer' or a 'Modern Don Quixote', Graham's regal ancestry, Spanish blood, adventures in South America and skilled horsemanship earned him the nicknames, 'Don Roberto' or 'the Uncrowned King of Scotland'.

For most significantly, Graham could trace his roots back to King Robert II, the Earls of Menteith and his great ancestor, Sir Robert Graham, who had fought and died for William Wallace.

Graham was born in London on May 24, 1852, the son of a Scottish landowner, William Graham Bontine, and Anne Elizabeth Elphinstone Fleeming, the daughter of a Scottish Admiral and Spanish aristocrat.

Childhood days were divided between London and the family estates at Gartmore, Stirlingshire.





■ Cunningham Graham was the model for Socialist artist William Strang's Don Quixote in his etching *The Second Sally*.

## Free education, the eight-hour day and nationalised industry were all on this stormy visionary's agenda

then following his education at Harrow and Brussels, he left Britain at the age of 17 for Argentina to seek his fortune in South and Central America.

Working as a cattle rancher and horse dealer among the gauchos and llaneros, his business ventures failed, however, partly because of Indian raids and the revolutionary upheavals in those regions but also due to his youthful rashness.

The year after his return to Britain in 1877, he married a Chilean artist and poet, Gabriela de la Belmondière in Paris. The couple spent a further two years (1879-81) travelling and ranching through Indian territories between San Antonio, Texas and Mexico before finally settling in Britain.

On his father's death in 1884 Robert's inheritance of the Gartmore estates became a troublesome financial burden until they were sold in 1900. His Scottish home then became the smaller estate of Ardoch on the Clyde.

From his Scottish base, Graham became one of the most distinguished political figures of the late 19th century. On September 9, 1887, he was adopted as the Liberal candidate

for North West Lanarkshire, a seat he held between 1886 and 1897.

In parliament he committed himself to a radical approach and during his stormy parliamentary career he became, in practice, the first socialist MP, advocating free secular education, the eight hour working day and the nationalisation of industry and commerce.

Subsequent speeches condemned British imperialism, profiteering landlords and industrialists, child labour, corporal and capital punishment, and advocated Home Rule for Scotland and Ireland. Graham was even jailed for six weeks at Pentonville for his part in the Bloody Sunday demonstration of 1887.

But it was his tireless campaigning with William Morris and Keir Hardie on behalf of the workers, together with the mixture of his eloquence and outspokenness that gained him his most prominent public reputation.

His maiden speech in the House of Commons was to be a typical example of his visionary ardour and such a dramatic success that it helped to establish him as a national celebrity and notoriety.

As one journalist commented

"Advent of new man Name Cunningham Graham Description Scotch Home Rule Visionary Outward aspect: Something between Grosvenor Gallery Aesthete and waiter in Swiss café, Person of 'cultchaw' Fogeys and fossils eye him askance and whisper that he ought to be 'put down', but lovers of originality, in all quarters, hail him with satisfaction" (*Vanity Fair*, Feb 5 1887.)

Typical of his paradoxical nature, however, he turned against the Labour group in Parliament after 1900 because he felt that once Labour Members arrived there, they became too 'respectable' and too keen to compromise.

In 1914 he also opposed Britain's entry into World War One, yet was one of the first to volunteer for military service, gaining a War Office commission to source South American munitions for the Western Front.

By 1916 Graham was also known for his opposition to the war, knowing that it was a waste of the moral and political principles

which he had fought for. He was a man of many contradictions, but his commitment to social justice was unwavering.

His blessing of a national Parliament with the pleasure of knowing that the taxes were wasted in Edinburgh instead of London."

As if Graham's political career was not alone amply significant, his literary career was equally so.

His writing ranged from polemic articles which appeared regularly in the local press such as the *Glasgow Herald* or journals such as *Ken Hardie's Labour Leader*, and *H M Hyndman's Justice* and the *Social Democrat*, to translations, biographies, histories and brief sketches that often earned the praise of those such as Ford Madox Ford and George Bernard Shaw.

Writers regarded him as such a colourful figure that he inspired characters in Shaw's *'Arms and the Man'* and he assisted Joseph Conrad with *'Nostromo'*, an epic masterpiece that depicts an

imaginary South American state in the grip of revolution.

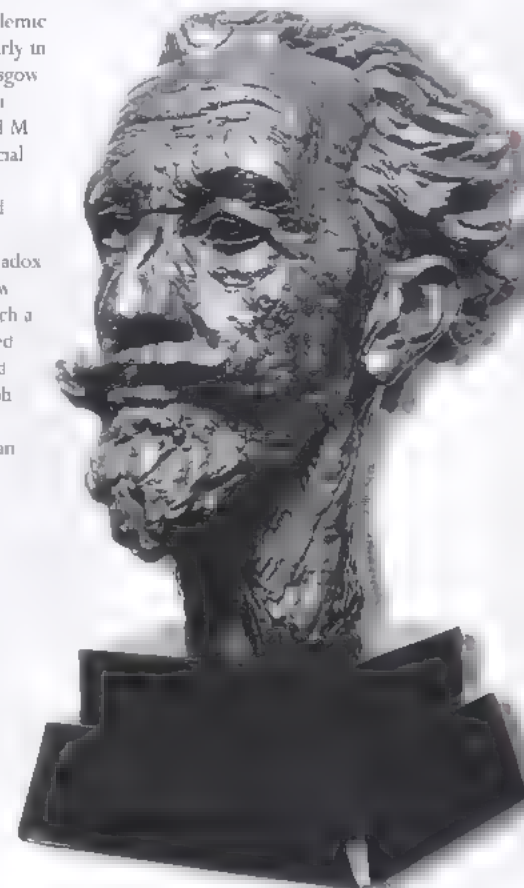
Amongst his lists of literary correspondents, Graham could boast of his friendships with the most distinguished, including Henry James, Thomas Hardy, W B Yeats and Oscar Wilde.

The critic Edward Garnett's influence was also significant, inspiring his writing of *'The Ipane'*, which contributed to his publication of some 17 volumes of sketches, essays and tales mainly set in Scotland and South America. *'Beattock for Moffat'* being one of his best known, with its gently ironic plot about a dying Scotsman's last journey home.

From his experiences of travels in Spain and Morocco in 1897 and his attempt to reach the forbidden city of Larudant, Graham wrote *'Mogreb-el Ackaa'* (1898), an account whose objective was also to express a compassionate defence of a society under threat from the West's civilising crusades.

Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham was a man as much at home with artists, diplomats and politicians as he was with the poor and the under-

privileged. His notoriety he was a man of many contradictions but nevertheless a visionary and hero to many of the Scottish people. He was a man whose character shone as brightly in the mist and drizzle of Scotland as under the blaze of the Mexican sun. ●



■ Noble head: Sir Jacob Epstein's bust of Cunningham Graham.



# Scottish nationalism

**The charisma of Parnell and his drive for Irish Home Rule attracted a bevy of writers in support. Among them were influential Scots who saw valuable lessons for use in their own patch**

**T**he rise of Irish cultural nationalism, often called the Irish Renaissance, is inextricably linked with Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91), MP from 1875 to his death, President of the Irish Land League from its foundation in 1879 to its dissolution in 1882 and leader of the Irish Home Rule party from 1880 until a divorce case verdict against him as correspondent in 1890 brought his repudiation by a majority of its 86 MPs.

Many of his political lieutenants were writers, the journalist William O'Brien, editor of the fiery weekly *United Ireland*, when in prison wrote a great if now forgotten novel of mid 19th century Irish society and ideology 'When We Were Boys' (1890); the amateur historian Justin McCarthy delighted Victorian audiences with his perceptive rather



■ All that was left of Dublin Post Office after confrontation between James Connolly's Irish Citizens Army and British forces in 1916.

than profound 'History Of Our Own Times' (1879); the owner of several papers and author of massive polemics, T P O'Connor, drew a multitude of aspiring journalists in his wake including the music critic and future playwright George Bernard Shaw. Then the brilliant

legalist, Tim Healy, would show his literary and forensic skills in 'Stolen Waters' on so seemingly barren a subject as disputed irrigation; Michael Davitt's 'Leaves from a Prison Diary' (1884) preached social justice in a series of lectures to a blackbird sharing his cell (until, at

the end he released it), and the title of his memoir of the Irish agrarian struggle proclaimed its message, 'The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland' (1904).

Parnell's movement aroused much contemporary literary denunciation from writers such as Trollope and Tennyson, who had written affectionately of Ireland in milder times, not to speak of Robert Louis Stevenson who became so angry with the brutalities of land war in Ireland that in 1887 he wanted to live with a boycotted family in Kerry for his last days.

Parnell's effect on Irish writers was terrific. For the quarter-century previous to his career, Ireland had been a political joke; he made it the grand executioner of British politics, forcing legislation for Ireland by systematic and ruthless obstruction, building up party discipline until he dominated the House of Commons



# with an Irish brogue

■ Memorial to a champion of Home Rule: William Ewart Gladstone. The scene is St Andrews Square, Edinburgh, but the Gladstone memorial was later removed to a less prominent position and those who seek it today will find it in Coates Crescent Gardens in the Capital's West End.



■ Edinburgh University Professor John Stuart Blackie was a scholarly Celtist and Home Ruler.

**In the babble there was one common view: opposition to landlordism, land speculation and profiteering**

by a superb fighting force, throwing out first the Liberals and the Tories from government and bringing the Times newspaper to the verge of ruin in its campaign against him based on forged letters

Irish writers found they were wanted by editors and publishers because of their Irishness, no longer in spite of it: the Parnell movement helped figures like Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw, W B Yeats on their

way. When Parnell fell, the awesome tragedy dominated the Irish cultural landscape for decades to follow, and above all it immortalised James Joyce

Scotland watched all of this with fascination. First of all, Scots asked themselves why Ireland should be alone in winning attention and results.

Archibald Philip Primrose, fifth Earl of Rosebery (1847-1929), an inspirational orator, a masterly election organiser, a smooth writer, and an ambitious coquette, won Rectorships of the Universities of Aberdeen (1878) and Edinburgh 1880

It was followed by ringing addresses on patriotic themes, brought Gladstone back from retirement to wrest the parliamentary seat of Midlothian from the nominees of the Tory Duke

of Buccleuch in 1880 and then agitated for a Secretaryship of State for Scotland

He flounced out of the second Gladstone administration in 1883 and got back in via imperial and diplomatic preoccupations, succeeding Gladstone as Prime Minister from 1894 to 1895 because Queen Victoria liked him as much as she hated the Grand Old Man. But his charisma gave the dream of Home Rule for Scotland a Parnellesque baptism. Parnell himself was made a Freeman of Edinburgh when he allied with Gladstone's and Rosebery's Liberals once they had decided in favour of Irish Home Rule in 1886, and then was struck off after the divorce

Scottish Home Rule's next aristocratic champion was John Patrick Crichton Stuart, third Marquis of Bute. Instead of a future

Prime Minister, this was the great great-grandson of a former one

The third Marquis had converted to Roman Catholicism and founded the Scottish Review about 1883, in part as a journal of public affairs to further the reconveying of the Scottish Parliament. After his death it was restarted under the editorship of a more radical aristocratic nationalist, Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr (1869-1960)

Erskine met Parnell after the party split and Parnell's break with Gladstone, and reported him long afterwards as being really in favour of independence for Ireland, as Erskine was for Scotland, formulating ideas of Gaelic nationalism in conjunction with the great Clydesdale Marxist, schoolteacher John MacLean (d 1923)

MacLean, like other readers of the ►



▶ Scottish labour weekly *Forward* was more strikingly influenced by the writings of the Edinburgh-born anarcho-syndicalist James Connolly

Catholics throughout the country

of Irish nationalism and it by leading the Irish

in Edinburgh some connection with the League, significantly himself, while far more than Parnell, also identified with the last leader after the split

British MPs ostracised Parnell after the undefended divorce suit allegations, but one who pointedly shook his hand and honoured him with companionship was yet another aristocrat, Robert Bontine Cunninghame-Graham, previously sentenced to imprisonment for six months for violating the police ban on a protest meeting in Trafalgar Square in November, 1887, against imprisonment of William O'Brien

Cunninghame-Graham reflected the mingling of Socialism and nationalism in his foundation of the ILP, of the Labour party, and of the SNP, and of Irish Socialist Parnellites such as Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw

He championed the disgraced Wilde and saluted his prison writings which played their own part in unmasking the hypocrisy of a metropolitan society's complacency in its work of civilisation

From the Parnellite-Liberal alliance of 1880 and sometimes before it, had flowed Scottish infection from Irish Nationalism

The Irish Land War had won interest from the great American economist Henry George (1839-97), whose *Progress and Poverty* (1879), radicalised so many of its activists and sympathisers

Irish labour and Scottish nationalist movements grew up in reverence for George's insistence that to own land should depend on its use, some (unlike George) wanting land nationalisation, some following him in a single tax on land ownership, but all opposed to landlordism, land speculation and profiteering

George was violently abused when lecturing in Scotland, by an article from George John Douglas Campbell, eighth Duke of Argyll (1823-1900), who had resigned from Galdstone's first and second cabinets against their Irish Land Acts of 1870 and 1881

"Never has the world seen such a



▶ Echo from the past: Edinburgh-born James Connolly retains symbolic importance in the Capital today.

Preacher of Unrighteousness", he wrote

George courteously demolished His Grace's pieties on behalf of His Grace's own extensive properties, and the Land Restoration League circulated both essays as 'The Peer and the Prophet', a proclamation that the new Scotland would be against aristocratic privilege and snobbery, and insistent on a just society. The Scottish nationalist Professor of Greek at Edinburgh, John Stuart Blackie (1809-95), had given scholarly inspiration for George's questioning of lairds' rights to land ownership, was quoted in the left-wing New York Irish World, and founded and endowed a Chair of Celtic in Edinburgh University in 1882

It linked land war and language revival long before the pollution and

damming of Irish Political waters in the Parnell split exploded towards a new cultural nationalism typified by the foundation of the Gaelic League in 1893. George's crusade and the Irish agrarian battles had their

leading Irish nationalist publisher famed for its paperbacks – was Cameron and Ferguson of Glasgow naturally ready to draw all possible Scottish lessons

Hugh MacDiarmid's introduction

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The 'Peer and Prophet' incident brought demands for a just society for the new Scotland

Scottish effects also in the Crofters' War and subsequent legislation

Indeed, John Murdoch, editor of the Inverness Courier, had been on platforms with Parnell in 1880, and in 1880, 100 years after the end to landlordism, he had raised an end as well as a demand but never there's been a demand in America's best-selling New York Herald as 'rank communism' Throughout these years, the

Scotts and Joyce had shown how to begin a search for cultural roots on our own patch rather than cringing for approval from a distant metropolis

But it was the turmoil and tragedy of Parnell's movement which enabled it to happen

And gave the Scots some of the social and political vocabulary in which to speak the words of their new world ●



# Paper tigers at war with pen and claw



■ J G Lockhart and Archibald Constable feature in Thomas Faed's imaginary depiction of the literati of Scotland at Scott's Abbotsford House.

**It was a frenzy of personal attack and razor-edged literary criticism as the press roared then squeaked in the ebb and flow of a profession for 'blackguards'**

**P**rint journalism in early 19th-century Scotland was a risky business. Sir Walter Scott's words of wisdom to his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, on his anticipation of such a career were: "None but a thorough going blackguard ought to attempt the daily press." Scott's was the voice of experience, of course, and his advice not unique given that many of the nation's authors started as contributors to Scotland's most influential literary journals or as newspapermen and frequent contributors to the Scottish press.

Political and regional identities were the driving forces of the development of print journalism in Scotland. Although newspapers had existed in Scotland from about the middle of the 17th century, it was not until 1847 that Scotland could boast its first daily newspaper.

Earlier publications were mainly advertising offshoots of existing printing and publishing

businesses in the cities and larger towns. For the men and women of letters, therefore, intellectual exchange, political news and reviews could be found in some of Europe's most prestigious journals that were published in Scotland.

One of these early publications was the *Scots Magazine and General Intelligencer*, or the *Scots Magazine* as it was more commonly known. First published in January, 1739, its popularity lay in its innovative publication of a register of local births, marriages and deaths.

Purchased by Archibald Constable in 1801, it was amalgamated three years later with another of his publications, the *Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*.

The popularity of the *Scots Magazine* soon diminished, however, with the appearance of the more serious literary journals such as the *The Edinburgh Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Tait's* ▶



Edinburgh Magazine. Political rivalry was most manifest between the Edinburgh Review and Blackwood's Magazine.

The Edinburgh Review, launched by Archibald Constable on 10 October, 1802, not only took Scotland's literary storm but it became the most influential magazine in Britain, Europe and North America.

From its cover it gained its nickname 'The Blue and Yellow', reflecting its allegiance to Whig Party values and Constable's belief that reform and revolution with their concomitant excitement should replace the old order.

According to Lord Cockburn, the biographer of one of its co-founders, Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), the intention of the editors Jeffrey, Sydney Smith (1771-1845) and Francis Horner (1778-1817) was to present 'the irrepressible passion for discussion which succeeded the fall of old systems at the French Revolution'.

The Edinburgh Review was therefore a forum for the national debate of political, scientific and literary matters – the voice of Edinburgh rationalism and the mouthpiece of the Scottish educational system with its strong adherence to the intellectual rigours of philosophy and logic.

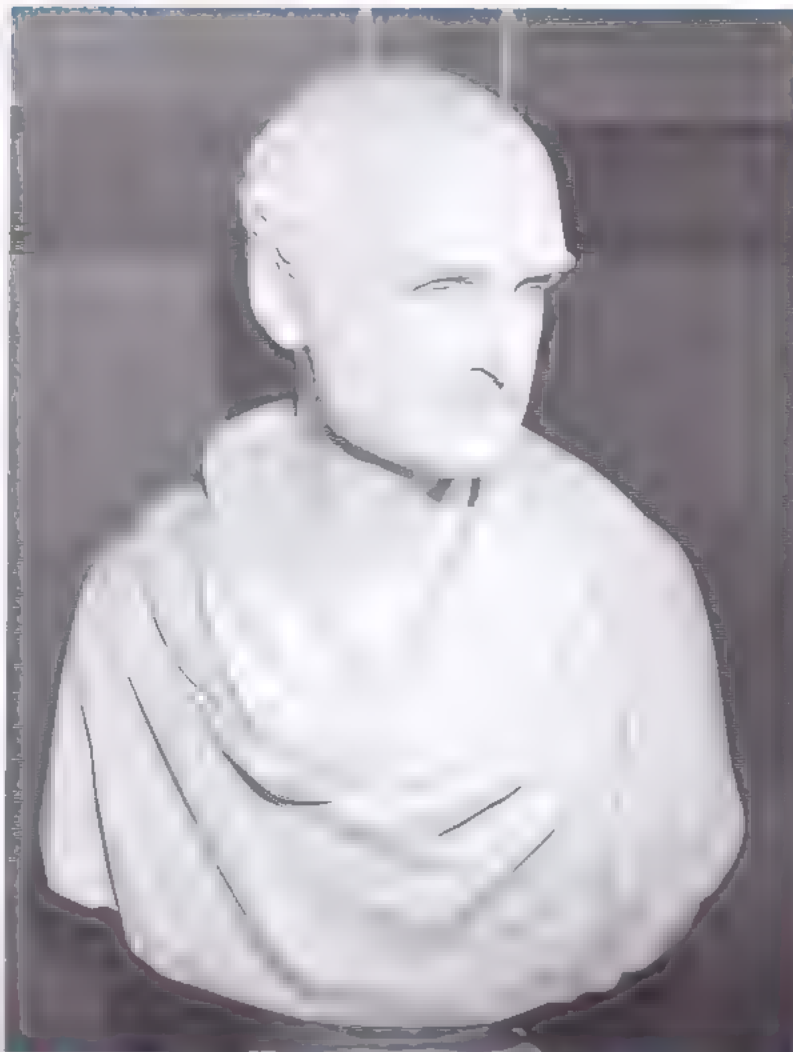
The magazine's reviewers, many of the leading literary figures of the time, declared of Wordsworth's long poem 'The Excursion': 'This will never do!'

He also published acerbic reviews of Sir Walter Scott's 'Marmion' and of Byron's early poems that led to the poet's satirical rejoinder of 1808 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers', as he called them. 'The Bloodhounds of Arthur's Seat'.

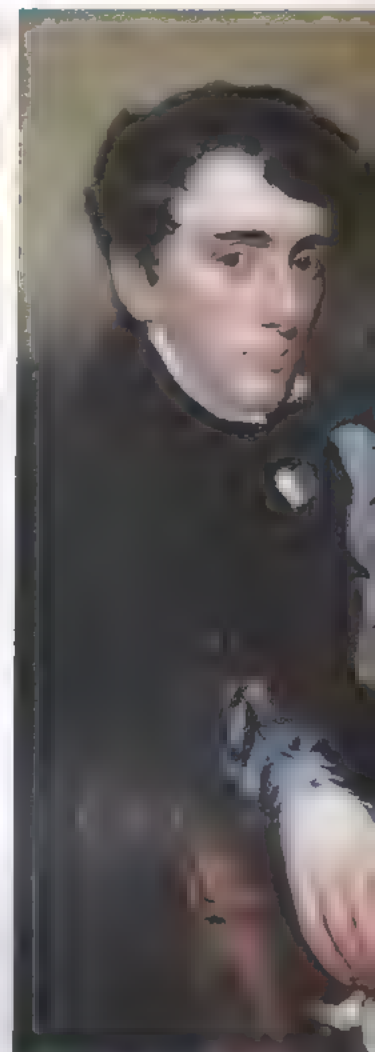
Following Jeffrey's period as Editor, the Edinburgh Review lost its significant influence, though it did not cease publication until 1929.

The Tory backlash to the The Edinburgh Review came on April 1, 1817, when William Blackwood (1776-1834) published the Edinburgh Monthly Magazine with the assistance of two young advocates, John Wilson and John Gibson Lockhart (the son in law of Sir Walter Scott) and James Hogg.

The first edition contained three anonymous articles that shook Edinburgh's literary foundations. The first savaged Coleridge for his decadence, his corruption of the young



■ Charles Macrae was one of the founders of The Scotsman.



■ John Gibson Lockhart...

Scots. Leading Whigs and all those associated with the Edinburgh Review. Henceforth, the journal became formally known as Blackwood's Magazine.

Overnight success established Blackwood's notorious reputation and encouraged the editors to pursue their

journal declined, however, by the 1830s although it continued publishing leading contemporary authors. Between 1856 and 1876 it published George Eliot's novels in serial form and among its main contributors were John Galt, Thomas De Quincey, Joseph Conrad and, between 1898 and 1939, John Buchan.

The most influential part of the

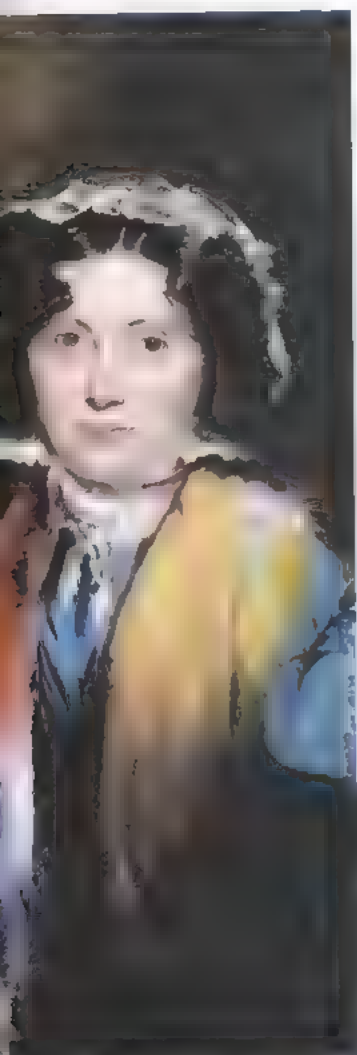
literary market in Scotland during the latter half of the 19th century was the developing popular press. With the 1855 repeal of the Stamp Act, popular journalism took off as newspapers became affordable to a majority, offering a forum to Scots-speaking and working class writers.

As revealed by a leading authority on popular literature in Victorian Scotland, the popular press flourished from virtually a cottage industry in



■ An illustration from 'Peter's letters to his kinsfolk' was published by Blackwood's Magazine.





and wife Charlotte Sophia Scott



■ William Blackwood founded Blackwood's Magazine in Edinburgh in 1817.

## The popular imagination was fired as people in every region of Scotland began to write

1800 to a large-scale business by the end of the century. News-gathering was transformed by the introduction of electric telegraph and the productive capacity of the press was transformed by the introduction of steam-powered, high-speed presses. Demand for newspapers was also fuelled by the increasing working-class literacy and the expansion of the railway network.

By 1845 there were around eight newspapers in Scotland, although mainly small-scale businesses employing only a few people. Walter Alexander Sinclair, one of the leading figures in the Victorian Scottish press, became office-boy at the Glasgow Herald in 1845, the editorial and reporting staff numbered just two: George Outram, the editor, and his

assistant James Pagan. Nearly all of the Scottish papers were produced on manual hand presses and successful papers such as the Glasgow Herald might have a circulation of 3,000 to 4,000 copies a week.

Its rival, The Scotsman, was first published on January 25, 1817, in Edinburgh. It was founded by Charles Maclaren, a Customs House official, William Ritchie, a lawyer, and then later joined by John Ramsay McCulloch, an economist.

In its early years The Scotsman championed the Whig political cause and was an enthusiastic supporter of the Reform Bill of 1832 and of Catholic emancipation. Its original office was in 257 High Street before it moved to its North Bridge headquarters in 1905.

By mid-century, however, it was the Glasgow Herald which was to become the most influential and financially successful newspaper in the west of Scotland and which, by 1859, was a daily publication. By the end of the century it was one of some 700 titles, many of them publishing daily.

The weekly press in Scotland was diverse in origin, in type, and in scale of operation. Some papers were simply

summaries of the week's news, but others, especially if they had a predominantly working-class readership, evolved into a distinctive new form – half newspaper, half popular miscellany, which was to become the most characteristic feature of the popular market during the latter part of the century.

The pioneer of this form was William Chambers' *Westminster Gazette*. The Edinburgh Journal was published weekly at a cost just one-and-a-half pence. It carried no news but conveyed useful knowledge through its short stories, poems, and anecdotes on Scottish history, biography and popular antiquities as well as scientific subjects.

It was well received with its educative tone and its use of vernacular Scots but fell victim to its own success as its readership spread south of the Border and the format developed towards a more standardised style, losing much of its distinctive local colour and fervour.

By 1890 it was the Dundee-based *People's Journal* which could boast the largest certified circulation in Scotland. The public demand for serialised fiction was such that it is estimated that between the years 1860

to 1900 more than 5,000 full-length Scottish novels, an even greater number of short stories and an enormous body of folklorist, autobiographical and social history writing were published by the popular press – a cultural achievement of significant proportions.

As the industry expanded so did the competition. The regional press competed to offer their readership distinctively local publications. For example, the Falkirk Herald was one of the first to respond to the quickening pace of industrialisation by producing a special Saturday edition costing one penny.

In 1858, the first edition of the Dundee, Perth, and Forfar People's Journal, the brainchild of the young managing proprietor of the Dundee Advertiser also marked the success of this style of publication taking the lead from the radical Glasgow weekly, the Workman and the North Briton of Edinburgh, both forerunners of the journal's social and cultural preoccupations.

The popular imagination was fired, and in every region of Scotland people began writing fiction for the press. A new generation of writers, based on the newspaper network and reflecting the political and social changes of the period, produced the third quarter of the century.

By the late 1880s Scotland's print industry was beginning to change. As the market became more competitive, local newspapers were under increasing pressure to outstrip their rivals.

More players meant the competition for advertising revenue grew fiercer as objectives to increase readership and circulation became priorities in cost effectiveness.

Soon, amalgamation and elimination of rivals led to a progressive loss of local control. In turn, attempts to increase readership meant that audiences became more geographically spread and mass-produced stereotyped copy dominated as the flow of distinctive, original local Scots writing ebbed with the flow of cheap, standardised fiction often imported from English syndicates.

By the end of the century, the success of Scotland's regional publications had transformed Scotland's print culture into a more standardised form, and journalism, in turn, became an admired and accepted profession.

Just as the magazines of the first three decades of the 19th century had established Scotland's intellectual reputation in print journalism throughout Europe and North America; the latter-half of the 19th century was to herald one of the richest and most vital episodes in the history of the Scottish popular press and of Scottish popular culture. ●



# New Celtic dawn as

Portrait of an artist: Charles  
Rennie Mackintosh's works  
have become almost a  
symbol for Glasgow.





# Glasgow flourishes

**Their inspiration came from Scotland's ancient culture. They were artists, designers and architects. Their genius promoted Glasgow on a European stage as an arts capital and centre of patronage. Their design and exciting imagery was of the century still to come...**

**T**he late 19th century saw some of the world's finest ships being built on the Clyde, and elsewhere in Scotland. This is a commonplace of Scottish history. Everyone takes it for granted but it has a wider significance, for at the heart of a successful engineering culture is visual thinking. It should, therefore, be no surprise that the Scotland which made ships like the tea clipper *Cutty Sark* and the transatlantic liner, *City of New York* (not to mention the later Cunarders) was also at the forefront of European art, design and architecture.

Edinburgh had traditionally been the leading city for the study and production of visual arts in Scotland, but the closing decades of the 19th century saw a significant shift towards Glasgow, as industrial wealth made that city a major centre of patronage.

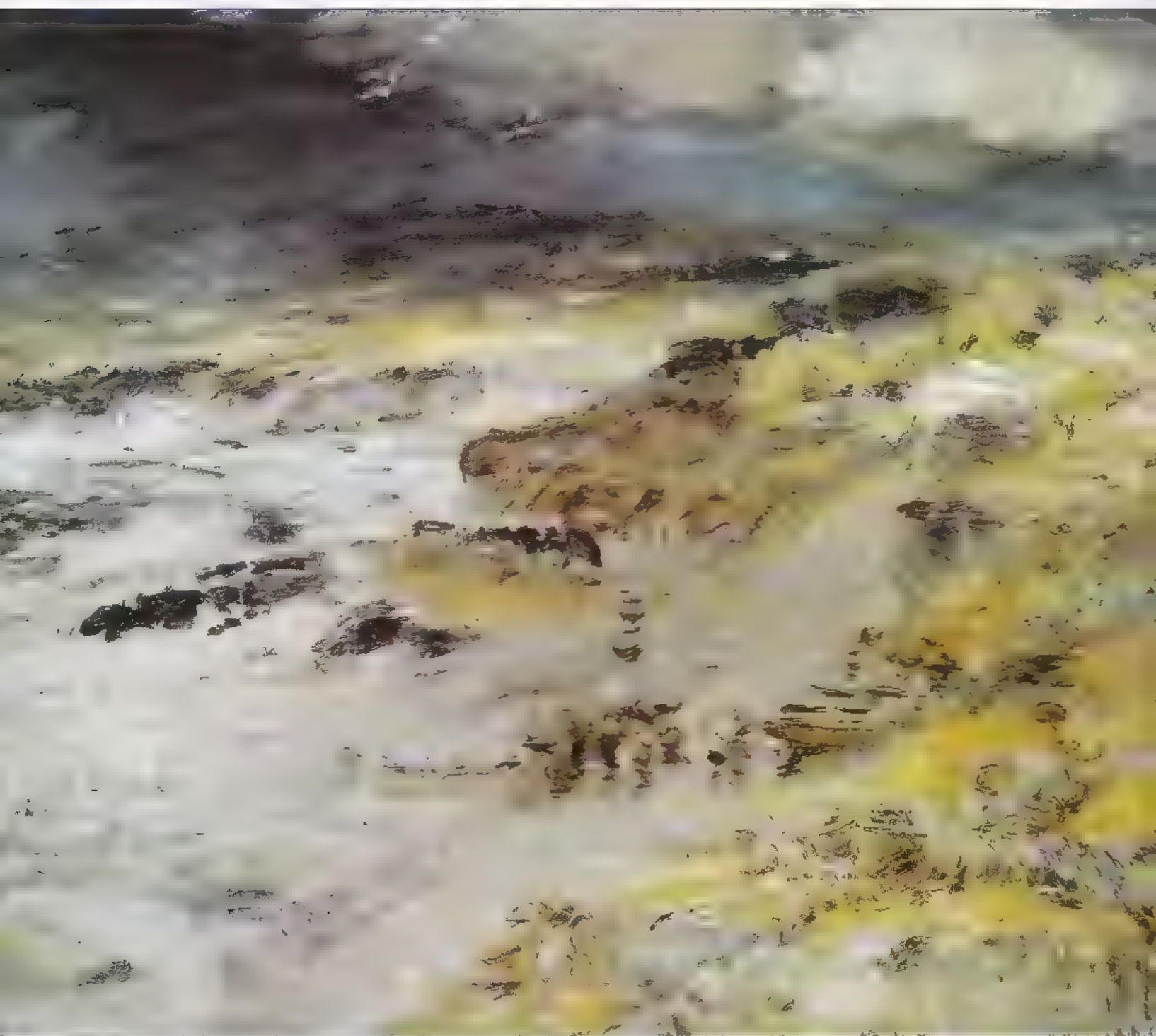
The work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh in the 1890s has become the symbol of Glasgow's achievement during this time, but the thriving group of artists, architects and designers of which he was one, was only possible in a city which was already a highly-active cultural centre. From the 1880s onwards, the Glasgow School of painters (a loose grouping which included James Guthrie, WY Macgregor, Arthur Melville, John Lavery, E A Walton, George Henry and E A Hornel, among others) had made its mark.

These Glasgow 'boys' (the group also included the outstanding 'Glasgow girl,' Bessie MacNicol) put the city firmly on the European art map. Many of these painters had been educated both in Paris and in Glasgow or Edinburgh, and several were educated elsewhere in Europe. London was



■ A Hind's Daughter by 'Glasgow Boy' James Guthrie.





■ **Gael from Kintyre:** William McTaggart's 'The Storm' is clearly heroic in feeling and reflects the powerful force of nature.

**A distinctive quality of the Glasgow School of Art was the willingness to accord women artists their rightful place**

also a popular place of study. For example, Guthrie worked with John Pettie, one of many successful Scottish painters of an earlier generation who had made his home in that city.

Among the influences that these Glasgow painters brought back to Scotland were those of the French painters of the Barbizon school and the Dutch artists of the Hague. Gone were the romantic 'land of the mountain and the flood' landscapes of Horatio McCulloch and the scenes of Highland cattle and moorland by Peter Graham. In their

place were focused and intimate scenes of landscape and people in which an almost decorative paint texture was often as important as subject matter. True cosmopolitans, these painters could be found studying the fall of light and the intensity of colour in the Trossachs, or near Paris, or in the coastal ports of the Mediterranean.

With the growing industrial wealth of Glasgow, a new class of patrons was demanding art. It was served by art dealers of insight and ability such as Alexander Reid, who not only advocated the work of

Glasgow school painters to his clients, but acted as a link to the latest European developments for the artists themselves. Symbolic of Reid's active involvement in Europe is a wonderful portrait painted of him by his friend Vincent van Gogh, which can be seen in Glasgow's Kelvingrove Gallery today.

Thus, then, was the outward looking situation of the arts in Glasgow to which students responded in the 1890s. Encouraged by the new director of Glasgow School of Art, the Cornishman Francis Newbery, they were also



well aware of developments in arts, crafts and illustration south of the Border, not least through the notable restatement of arts and crafts philosophy and practice in the newly-published magazine 'The Studio'

Part of the distinctive quality of Newbery's regime was a willingness to accord to women artists their rightful place, indeed the majority of the key contributors to the Glasgow style were women, among them Margaret and Frances Macdonald, Jessie M King, Annie French, Muriel Boyd, Jessie Newbery, and Ann Macbeth

Along with men such as Charles Rennie Mackintosh, James MacNair and the Glasgow School often overlooked book-designer Talwin Morris, they produced a style of applied art and illustration which had an impact across Europe, not least in Vienna

Vienna was itself at that time beginning to make its mark as a centre for innovative art and design, through the work of painters like Gustav Klimt and architect-designers such as Josef Hoffmann

Reflecting the European significance of their work, the central figures of the Glasgow style, 'The Four' (Mackintosh, MacNair and the two Macdonald sisters) were invited to exhibit at the Vienna Secession exhibition of 1900

Like the Vienna artists, they were developing imagery and design in a way that led directly to the modernist developments of the 20th century and at the same time drew heavily on revisiting the past, not least the Celtic past. An earlier example of such Celtic revival is to be found also in a contemporary painting from 1890 by Glasgow boys E. A. Hornel and James Henry, entitled 'The Druids Bringing in the Mistletoe'

While such images formed part of the background to the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and his colleagues, a more overt Celtic revival was developing in Edinburgh. This was a time of conscious reassessment of the past in the interests of the future. It applied not only growing interest in Celtic myth and legend, but to the reconsideration of earlier modes of society and their potential relevance

Considerable inspiration had been given here by the Arts and Crafts movement south of the Border, but in the 1890s one of the most talented of all those working in this style was Phoebe Traquair in Edinburgh. She was the ultimate

artist-craftswoman, able to turn her hand to techniques ranging from religious mural painting (on a scale worthy of Michelangelo), to embroidery and jewellery of breathtaking accomplishment and beauty

Along with the pioneering sociologist Patrick Geddes she was involved, via the Edinburgh Social Union, in schemes for the betterment of the city, and with him she shared a communitarian vision of the importance of arts and crafts

Like Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Patrick Geddes brought to his vision

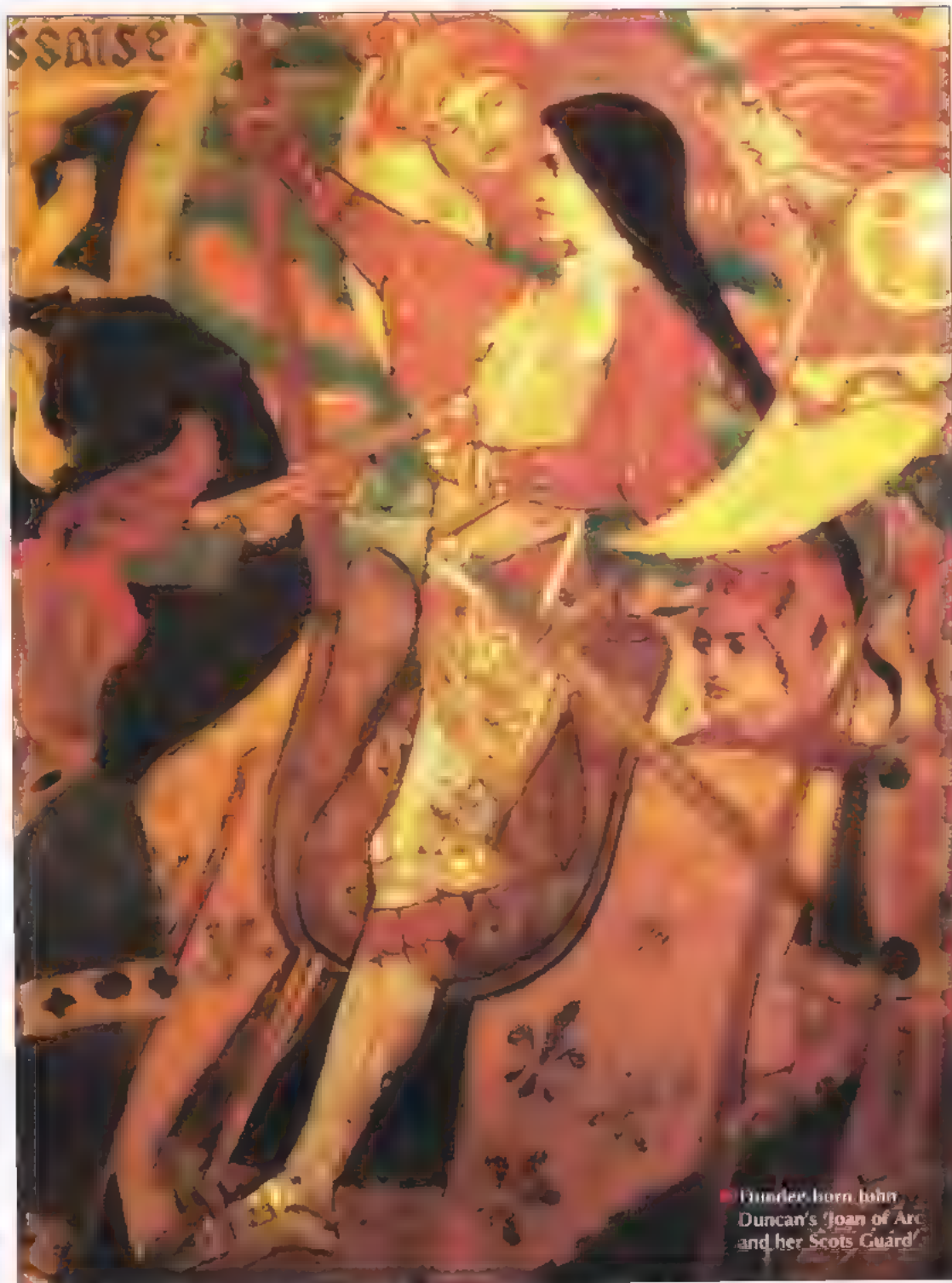
an informed sense of the significance of history. Geddes is remembered today as a pioneer of urban conservation and he recognised the need to understand the past of a city in order to usefully influence its future. Many places from London and Dublin to Bombay are in his debt for his vision of creative conservation

In Edinburgh he did a great deal to reverse the social and economic decline of the Old Town through the maintenance and careful renewal of its fabric. In this project he attracted a circle of artists among them

Dundee-born John Duncan, who shared his interest in traditional revival in general and in Celtic revival in particular

Along with artists such as Charles Mackie and Helen Hay, Duncan carried out mural schemes for Geddes, and contributed to his interdisciplinary magazine, *The Evergreen*. John Duncan went on to paint some of the best known of all Celtic revival works, for example his *Tristan and Isolde* from 1914

A similar belief in the importance of reflection on the past for the present was also at the heart of the ►



► Dundee-born John Duncan's 'Joan of Arc and her Scots Guard'



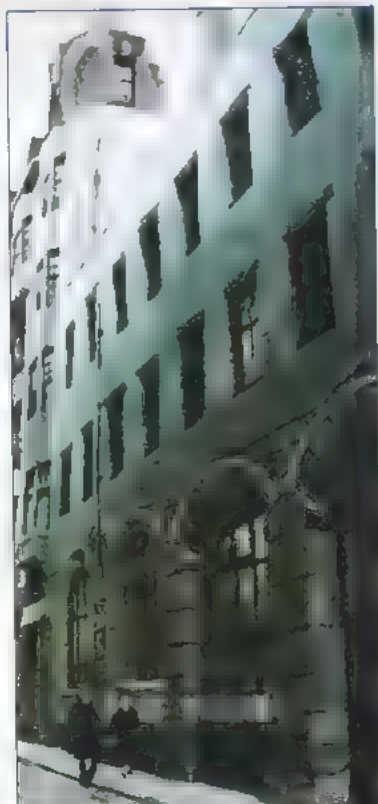
## ARTISTIC REVIVAL

work of a painter some 30 years later. This generation of Charles Mackintosh and John MacEwan. This artist was William McTaggart, who was part of a remarkable group of painters, among them G P Chalmers, W Q Marshall, John Pettie, Hugh Cairns, Peter Graham and Robert Herdman. All had studied at the Trustees Academy in Edinburgh under Robert Scott Lauder.

A fine painter in his own right, Lauder's importance as a teacher is hard to over estimate. He brought out the best in his students, creating a 'school' of extraordinary diversity. Although Orchardson and others of this group deserve reassessment, it is likely that McTaggart will always be thought of as Lauder's most significant pupil.

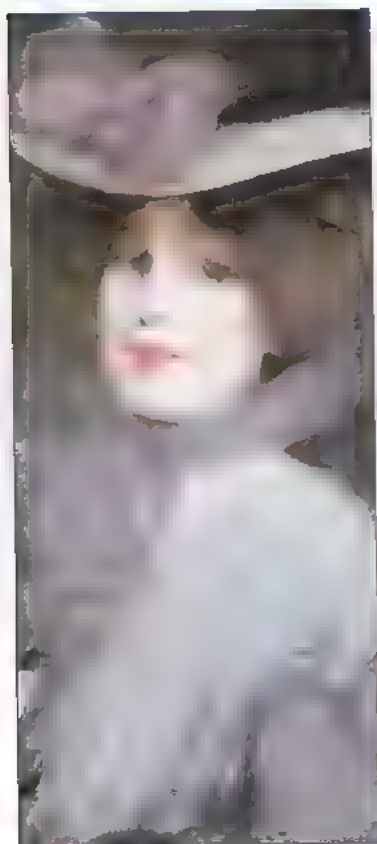
He pioneered for Scotland the freer use of paint and colour characteristic of the development of modern art throughout Europe. Along with such technical insights McTaggart - Kintyre-born and a Gaelic speaker - was sensitive to changes in the Highland society in which he had his origins.

In the 1890s he painted a



■ The old Daily Record office in Glasgow's Renfield Lane was designed by Rennie Macintosh.

## Sir David Wilkie's influence was still at the heart of Scottish art



■ Phyllis in Town was painted by 'Glasgow Girl' Bessie MacNicol.

remarkable series of canvases from which three images stand out, 'The Storm', 'The Coming of St Columba' and 'The Sailing of the Emigrant Ship'.

Although in style these works show similarities with contemporary French Impressionist painting, McTaggart's aims are quite different. In 'The Storm' he reflects on the challenge and danger ever present to fishing communities throughout the country. In the other works he explores the history of the Scottish Gael from the arrival of Columba in Kintyre in the sixth century to the tragedy and potential hope of emigration in the 19th century.

Emigration had been a factor of McTaggart's life from childhood onwards and only a few years before he painted 'The Sailing of the Emigrant Ship', some protection had at last been afforded to crofters by the passing of the Crofters' Holdings Act in 1886.

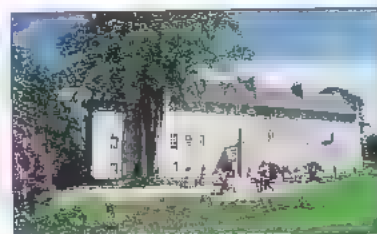
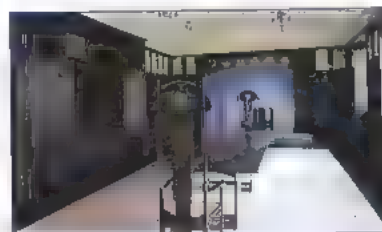
It is not surprising that Sir David Wilkie's influence could still be found at the heart of Scottish art half a century after his death. ■

## Magnificent tribute to a great Scottish artist

### House for an Art Lover

INSPIRED BY THE ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF Charles Rennie Mackintosh

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PRIVATE DINING THE GLASGOW SCHOOL OF ART DIGITAL DESIGN STUDIO



Situated in magnificent parklands adjacent to Victorian Walled Gardens, the House for an Art Lover is a modern realisation of Charles Rennie Mackintosh's designs in 1901.

Within the House visitors can view a suite of rooms which have been recreated by contemporary craftspeople according to Mackintosh's original drawings.

As well as the Mackintosh Exhibition, the House for an Art Lover also provides the Art Lovers' Cafe, Art Lovers' Shop, private dining and Glasgow School of Art Postgraduate Courses.

The House also offers alternative events and exhibitions including the Dinner Concert Series, 'Art Park' and exhibitions within the Art Lovers' Cafe.

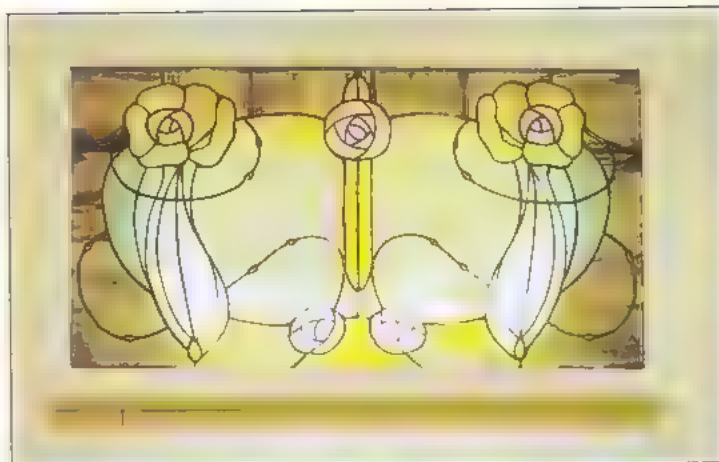
Opening Times to view the Mackintosh Suite are:  
Summer Season (1 April - 30 September)  
Sunday to Thursday: 10am-4pm.  
Friday: Closed.  
Saturday: 10am-3pm.

Winter Season (1 October to 31 March)  
Saturdays & Sundays: 10am-4pm.  
For weekday openings, call 0141-353-4770 as times vary.

House for an Art Lover, 10 Dumbreck Road,  
Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, G41 3BW  
Tel: 0141-353-4770  
Fax: 0141-353-4771  
Email: [info@houseforanartlover.co.uk](mailto:info@houseforanartlover.co.uk)  
[www.houseforanartlover.co.uk](http://www.houseforanartlover.co.uk)



# Reflections of genius



■ Rennie Mackintosh lives: some of the attractive features in Glasgow's Rennie Mackintosh Hotel that set its style, character and ambience.

**G**lasgow is the home to award winning museums, excellent shopping precincts and a wide variety of bars, bistros, cafes and restaurants. Rennie Mackintosh Hotels are close to some of the best known attractions such as the Glasgow School of Art (probably Charles Rennie Mackintosh's most famous design), Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Princess Square, the Lighthouse Centre and the Royal Concert Hall.

Once two adjoining townhouses, the Rennie Mackintosh Hotel on Renfrew Street has been converted and decorated in the style of its namesake.

The foyer displays custom-made replica Charles Rennie Mackintosh items and in the adjacent display area, there is a wide range of Mackintosh merchandise for sale.

Each of the 24 en suite bedrooms, whether single, double or twin, is

## Many of Glasgow's finest attractions are within easy walking distance

uniquely decorated and furnished. They each share a feeling of spaciousness created by the original high ceilings and tall windows.

As in all the Rennie Mackintosh Hotels, every room has a satellite colour television, direct dial phone and hospitality tray with tea and coffee making facilities – a welcome sight at the end of the day!

Many of the above mentioned attractions are easily accessible from all the Rennie Mackintosh Hotels, as are the shops and galleries of Sauchiehall Street (including the Mackintosh-designed Willow Tearooms). Meanwhile, the internationally-renowned Burrell Collection in Pollock Park is just a short journey south of the river Clyde.

As well as paying homage to one

of Scotland's greatest artist/designers, Rennie Mackintosh Hotels are also proud to invite guests to the Greek Thomson Hotel.

Named after one of Glasgow's most famous architects, Alexander Greek Thomson, this listed building was a well-known hotel until the late 1950s.

It has now been converted back to

a private hotel with 17 en suite bedrooms, offering guests every home comfort in a peaceful yet central location in Glasgow's West End.

The most recent addition is the Alexander Thomson Hotel in the city's Argyll Street, which opened in July, 2000.

The Rennie Mackintosh Hotels, which boast a three star rating from the Scottish Tourist Board, are just 15 minutes from Glasgow International Airport. ●

**Rennie Mackintosh Hotel, 218-220 Renfrew Street, Glasgow G3 6TX, Tel 0141-333-9992, Tel/Fax 0141 333 9995.**

**Rennie Mackintosh Hotel, 59 Union Street, Glasgow G1 3RB, Tel 0141-221-0050, Tel/Fax 0141-221-4580.**

**Greek Thomson Hotel, 140 Elderslie Street, Glasgow G3 7AW, Tel 0141-332-6556, Fax 0141-332-6566.**

**Alexander Thomson Hotel, 320 Argyll Street, Glasgow G2 8LY, Tel 0141-221-1152, Fax 0141-221-1153.**



# Finest hour of the brave Scots Guards

**At Waterloo they faced 30,000 French soldiers and held firm against the onslaught. Their record in war is second to none**

A strange fact about the Scots Guards is that they are seen more frequently in London on ceremonial duties than in Scotland. In a way, this mirrors their earliest origins as Argyll's Regiment, raised in 1642 on the orders of King Charles I.

They were sent immediately to Ireland where there was a rebellion against the plantation of Scottish Protestants in Ulster. Returning to Scotland seven years later they were amalgamated with other regiments with similar beginnings and were known as 'The Irish Companies' which they decidedly were not.

Thus part of their history was much complicated by events surrounding the civil wars of the mid 17th century. These troops were renamed The King's Lifeguard of Foot, fighting on the losing Scottish side against Cromwell at Dunbar and Worcester, after which a Scottish army simply ceased to exist.

But by 1662, companies known at first as the Scottish Foot Guards were raised again and sent into action against the Covenanters at the battles of Rullion Green and Bothwell Bridge.

As their name developed into the Scotch Guards, then to the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, they gave their loyalty to King William of Orange in 1688-90. Following action in Europe and America during the 18th century, their present name was conferred in 1877.

By this time, the regiment had



■ Badge and regimental hero: Fifer John MacAulay won the Victoria Cross at Fontaine Notre Dame in 1917.

distinguished itself in several key actions, including Waterloo and major battles in the Crimea. Their triumph at Waterloo was to take and then defend a walled farmhouse called Hougomont. 2,000 men encircled by 30,000 French soldiers. This action tied up almost a third of Napoleon's infantry and was crucial to the Duke of Wellington's victory. There were 400 Scots casualties against 8,000 French.

Later in the 19th century, the Scots Guards fought in Egypt and South Africa, and were fully engaged in both world wars the following century.

At their peak, the Scots Guards could muster four battalions, but the

2nd Battalion, first raised in 1686, had an unusual career in later times. In 1971, the battalion was placed in 'suspended animation' – a strange Whitehall budget-cutting term and was re-activated the following year.

A decade later the 2nd Battalion embarked on the Queen Elizabeth II liner and headed for San Carlos in the Falkland Islands. Moved later to Bluff Cove, the battalion led the night assault on Tumbledown Mountain – the position most heavily defended by the Argentinians – winning their way to the summit around dawn after bitter hand-to-hand fighting. This battle, which led directly to the Argentinian

surrender, cost the Scots Guards nine dead and more than 40 wounded. Yet in spite of the glory, in 1993 the 2nd Battalion returned 'gain to 'suspended animation'.

The Scots Guards are famed for the high standards of their pipe band and regimental band, although in the mid-19th century, the officers decided to discontinue the piping tradition. One military historian said this was because the regiment had become anglicised. Shortly afterwards, however, the pipe band was restored and reached new heights in the 20th century under Pipe Major Willie Ross, one of the most influential players and teachers that military piping has known. ●





■ Moment of sadness and pride: soldiers of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) watch their regimental flag being lowered for the last time.

## THE CAMERONIANS

# Defiant right to the last salute

**T**his regiment was born in a spirit of defiance, and it was in that spirit that it died. In 1968, The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) chose to be disbanded rather than be amalgamated with other regiments, and the name was kept going only by Army Cadet and Territorial units.

This was in keeping with the regiment's beginnings, for it grew from the Covenanting forces which had fought doggedly for the Presbyterian faith in Scotland during the 17th century.

It took its name from Richard Cameron, the zealous preacher who died at the Battle of Airds Moss in 1680, after which his severed head and hands were taken to Edinburgh by the royalists to be presented to the Privy Council.

When the Protestant King William of Orange succeeded to the Scottish throne in 1689, the Covenanting fighters became part of his regular army. 'The defence of

the nation and preservation of the Protestant religion' were cited at their formation, giving them unique status.

In their early days, The Cameronians continued the religious tradition, each soldier being issued with a Bible and with a Kirk elder appointed in every company.

Its first action was at Dunkeld in 1689 against the Jacobite army of James VII. The regiment distinguished itself in European and American campaigns during the 18th century. It was augmented by the Perthshire Light Infantry in 1881.

The regiment fought Napoleon's troops in Spain, then served in the Crimea, India, South Africa and through two world wars as fast-moving light infantry. Evacuated from Dunkirk in World War II, they fought on through Italy and Burma.

For the proud Cameronians with their historical principles, amalgamation later was simply not an acceptable option.



# The Home Rulers



■ Gartmore House near Stirling was the childhood home of Cunninghame Graham but was later sold because of financial problems.



**Scotland's move towards more control of its own destiny, and the memorials to the men of courage and vision behind it, are traced by biker historian David Ross**

The 'Home Rule' era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a time when many influential people believed the Union with England was having a negative effect on Scotland's national wellbeing. Among the most interesting characters demanding increased independence for Scotland was aristocrat, socialist, writer and adventurer Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham.

He was clearly a man with a few contradictions, but his key role in the emergence of nationalism and socialism in Scotland helped earn his place in Scottish history.

A year after Graham's death in 1936, a monument was erected to him on the outskirts of Dumbarton. It was moved to Gartmore in May 1981. Graham's is only one of a long list of monuments erected to inspirational Scottish figures.

The most well-known examples are those to William Wallace. The first Wallace monument was the huge statue that stands on a wooded hillside above the River Tweed near the ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, the burial place of Sir Walter Scott.

It was commissioned by the 11th Earl of Buchan, and placed on its pedestal on 11th September, 1814, the anniversary of Wallace's victory at Stirling Bridge in 1297.

It was reported that "it occupies so eminent a situation, that Wallace, frowning towards England, can be seen

from a distance of more than 30 miles." The statue was originally painted white, but is today unpainted and unadorned in red sandstone. The statue stands near the village of St Boswells on the A68, running south through beautiful Border country.

The most famous of the Wallace monuments of this period is, of course, the National Wallace Monument that stands atop the Abbey Craig, rising high above the River Forth near Stirling.

The Abbey Craig (so called because of its proximity to the ruins of Cambuskenneth Abbey) was the site where Wallace and his co-commander, Murray, marshalled their troops before the battle of Stirling Bridge.

The monument was designed by J T Rothead, of Glasgow, in the form of a baronial tower 220-ft high. As it stands upon the highest part of the Abbey Craig at 362ft, the view from the top is spectacular, the vista taking in the flood plain of the Forth, the distant Highland hills, and the fault line of the Ochils.

Many battles have been fought in this vicinity, due to the fact that any invading army progressing northwards had to cross the Forth here as it could not be bridged further east, and the ground became too rough further west.

The monument was founded on 24th June, 1861, and completed in September, 1869. But the official opening did not take place until June 25, 1887, when the statue of Wallace

on a corner of the building was unveiled, finishing the building to its original design. The whole structure cost £18,000. Standing before it today, and gazing up towards its baronial crown, eyes covering its architecture conceived on a mighty scale, I wonder how much it would cost to create the equivalent now. Millions of pounds, I would imagine.

To help in its construction, a little railway line ran up the route of the modern approach, but was removed after the building's completion. It would perhaps have been a good idea to have kept the line in position to transport visitors to the top. It would surely have added to the attraction of the site.

Many people assume that the current interest in Wallace is attributable to Braveheart, but it seems that he comes to the fore of the Scottish consciousness in cycles. When the foundation stone of the Abbey Craig monument was laid, 80,000 people turned out to see it — over 10 times the number that Wallace and Murray commanded on the day of battle.

The fact that so many wished to be present at this occasion to mark Scotland's great hero belies the notion that our little nation had somehow been assimilated into the Victorian idea of 'Great Britain'. It seems many still had a very attuned sense of what it meant to be Scottish. ●



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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

## NEXT WEEK IN PART 45



As the curtain fell on the 19th century,  
Scottish know-how and muscle created  
Scotland's reputation as one of the  
world's leading industrial nations. The  
focus was on shipbuilding and industry  
and Glasgow became the 'Second City  
of the Empire' - and one of the  
unhealthiest. The Clyde boomed and  
industry roared. Into this scene stepped  
James Keir Hardie, darling founder  
member of the Labour Party

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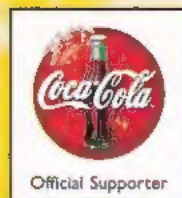
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